1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



852 buttermilk from the dairyman, and there the mother uncovers
854 the child's face.

I was not told that the covering of the face is designed to protect the child from the influence of the evil eye, but this is the probable motive. The object of the ceremony is probably to minimise the danger incurred when the covering is removed by putting the child, if a boy, into relation with the three sacred objects, the dairy, the herd of buffaloes, and the sun. If a girl, the child is taken to the spot nearest to the dairy where women are allowed to go.

## NAMING THE CHILD

553 The child is named after its face has been uncovered. The
852 ceremony is called *per vasthpimi*, "name we give," and it may take place immediately after the ceremony of uncovering the face, or a few days later. In the former case, the child, if a boy, is taken by his father from the place where the buffaloes are standing to the front of the house, and there the father shaves the middle part of the head of the child. Then the boy's maternal uncle (*mun*) gives the name, and promises a calf, saying, *pòl ud todein*, "calf one I have given," followed by the name of the child,[1] and raises each foot to the head of the boy and touches his forehead, the salutation on this occasion being called *kalkartiti*. Three grains of barley are put into the mouth of the boy and three into his back-hair, and then the grains are thrown away.

There was some doubt as to the relative by whom a girl is named. It seemed clear that the name is given by a woman, and I was told definitely by some that it is given by the father's sister (*mumi*) of the child. The wife of the *mun* would also be the *mumi* of the child, and it is possible that this relative may give the name. No calf is given to a girl, this being only done when boys are named.

After the naming, the parents of the child may give a feast
[574] if they are rich, but this seems to be now exceptional. After
953 receiving its name, the child is given food for the first time, having been suckled up to this day, but my notes do not

[1] For the nature of the name see Chapter XXVI.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



make it clear whether the child is weaned at this time or continues to be suckled.

When the child is shaved, a bone of a bird called *mdtpül* and a stone procured from the bazaar called *kansutimani* are put round its wrist. The bone is cut into small pieces and strung alternately with pieces of the stone so as to form a kind of bangle. It was said that the child would become ill if this charm were not used, and the name of the stone (*kan* = eye) shows that it is intended to avert the evil eye.

## The Tersamptpimi Ceremony

This is a ceremony closely connected with the naming of a child, but only performed after the second funeral (*marvainolkedr*) of a Tarthar man. It seemed probable that at one time the name was actually given during the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, but as the *marvainolkedr* of Tartharol now occur only at considerable intervals, it has become the custom to bestow the name in connexion with the ceremony of uncovering the face.

The ceremony of *tersamptpimi* is performed on the day after the funeral, this day being called *karvnol*, and as in the ceremony of naming, the chief part is taken by the child's maternal uncle. The uncle comes to the village where the child is living, bringing a stake of wood of the wild rose[1] called *kadakmän*. He splits the piece of wood into two pieces, each of which is called *ketkark*, and putting the hair of the child between the two *ketkark*, he cuts off a lock. If the child is of the Tarthar division, the hair is cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*,[2] while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife (*turi*), but both *kanab* and *turi* on this occasion receive the special name of *tersampki*. After cutting the lock of hair, the uncle puts it on one side together with the *ketkark* and the *tersampki*, and if the boy has not already been named, the name is now given by the uncle and a calf promised.

Before this ceremony, the bangle of bone and stone, put

[1] *Rosa Leschenaultiana.* [2] Lit. 'eye arrow.'

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



602 764 marriage, but the head of a widow is covered by her own father or by someone of his clan who takes his place. The plausible explanation appears to be that the covering is performed by the father of the woman, not as father of the widow, but as father-in-law of the dead man.

Those who have married into the family of the deceased, the *paiol*, have to make certain contributions towards the outlay for the funeral, and it is in connexion with one of these contributions that the interesting ceremony of cloth-giving occurs.

The essential feature of the ceremony seems to be that a cloth passes between a relative or representative of the dead person and those who have married into the family of the dead person, and the ceremony involves a money payment to the family of the dead person from those who have married into the family. The ceremony is one which links the funeral ceremonies to those of marriage.

602 604 In other ceremonies of the Todas the parts played by different kin are far less conspicuous. The *mun* or mother's brother has, however, several important functions. To him falls the duty of naming a child, on which occasion he has also to give a calf. He takes the chief part in the *tarsamptpiui* ceremony, in which he cuts the hair of the child with a special ritual. In the ear-piercing ceremony the maternal uncle pierces one ear, and in the special case of which I have a record, he gave two buffaloes towards the expenses attendant on the ceremony.

553 It is probable that a girl is named by her *mumi*, or father's sister, but this is a point on which I am not quite sure.

602 605 Under certain conditions *matchuni*, when associated together, have to perform certain ceremonial acts. When two male *matchuni* eat rice and milk together, they must first ask each other, "*pa tòr tinkina?*" "Milk food shall I eat?" and if they eat honey together, they must say "*tein tinkina?*" Two female *matchuni* eating together must also use these formulæ, but they are not said when a man is eating in company with his female *matchuni*, though possibly the two would never actually eat at the same time.

Male *matchuni* have also to go through a ceremony when

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



From the foregoing account it is evident that in the names of the Todas we have a storehouse of words the investigation of which might lead to many discoveries in connexion with their half-forgotten folklore and past history. We have seen that the names of villages which have now entirely disappeared may still be preserved in the names of persons, and I have little doubt that a complete investigation of the names included in the genealogies would furnish a record of many more extinct villages and possibly provide clues to institutions which have now wholly disappeared.

## Change of Name

There are three chief conditions which lead Todas to change their names. If two men have the same name, and one of the two should die, the other man would change his name, since the taboo on the name of the dead would prevent people from uttering the name of the living. The most recent example of this occurred about six years ago. There were two men named Matovan, one of Pan (19) and the other of Kwòdrdoni (34). The Kwòdrdoni man died and Matovan of Pan changed his name to Imokhvan, and it is this name which will be found in his pedigree.

This change of name may also be effected even when there is only a similarity between two names. Thus when Punbuthuvi, the wife of Parkurs (8), died, Sinbuthuvi of Kusharf (65) changed her name to Pukuruveli. Similarly when Òners of Kuudr (56) died, Einers of Piedr[1] (64) changed his name to Tokulvan.

A person may also change his name merely because it is the same as, or very similar to, that of another, this being done simply to avoid inconvenience and misunderstanding. It sometimes happens that a child is given the same name as some other child, and then one or other is renamed. Thus a boy was named Oblodj, but it was found later that there was a girl at Kars called Obalidz (12), and so the name

[1] It will be noticed that, in these two cases, the old names are those which occur in the genealogies. My informant probably remembered these better than the new names, which had been assumed only late in life.

1: Rivers E-S (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



553 of the boy was changed to Meilitars (44). A boy of Pâm was called Kudeners, but it was found that there was another Kudenera at Taradr (25), so the name of the former was changed to Arparners, often shortened to Arpar (38).

When Kainir (3) married, his wife's name was Kanir, but she changed it since it was so like that of her husband. It was said to have been changed to Singub, but she was always known as Uds at the time of my visit.

Change of name of this kind is not obligatory, and there are several cases in which two people now living have the same name. When a change is made because two people have the same name or similar names, it is the younger of the two who changes. In most of the cases in which two people bear the same name it will be found that one belongs to the Tartharol and the other to the Teivaliol, and I am doubtful whether in this case names are changed except as the result of death.

553 755 A third reason for changing names is illness or other misfortune. When a man is ill, change of name is sometimes recommended by a diviner, but this is not often done. One of my guides, Kutadri (7), had changed his name twice. His original name had been Okeithi or Okvan, but as there was another Okvan of Keadr (68), he became Tagarsvan. Later he fell ill, and, on the recommendation of a diviner, Tagarsvan changed his name to Kutadri, and I never heard him spoken of or addressed by any but this name during my visit.

### Taboos on Names

551 The only definite restrictions on the utterance of the names of living people are those connected with kinship which have already been considered in Chapter XXI. A man may not utter the names of his mother's brother, his grandfather and grandmother, his wife's mother, and of the man from whom he has received his wife, who is usually the wife's father. The names of the above are tabooed in life, while after death the restrictions are still wider, and it is forbidden to utter the name of any dead elder relative, while the names of the dead are in any case only said reluctantly.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 • Toda



young mother—infanticidal, polyandrous—is sitting on the earthen floor, just within the doorway, enveloped in a mantle of unbleached cotton. On her left arm, snuggling next her bare body, inside the garment, lies something like a atomic doll, with long black hair, cream-coloured skin and pink points. The palm of the woman's right hand, uppermost, is directed towards the child. Her body, foreshortened by reason of the lowness of the door. The nut brown gipsy face, all eyes and teeth, just a bit delicate, is upturned towards the visitor: and speaking volumes by look and by attitude of hand, appeals for a present for the one-month-old. The inside of the room—such as remains visible—pitch-dark. There she was, smiling away, little knowing of my groundless suspicions.

A boy is named—peru or pesru or hesru—a name—and his ears are bored some time within about three months of his birth.

The child appears to be kept out of sight until the naming day; when the father, unaccompanied by the mother, takes it, hidden in the folds of his mantle, up to one of the sacred buildings of his Clan: and standing in front of the door, but outside of the surrounding wall, salutes the sanctuary with hand to forehead. Then kneeling on the ground, he for the first time opens out the infant's head to vision, and pressing its little forehead down till it touches the soil, names the child, reciting the following prayer; 'dânenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama;' the meaning of which is: 'Be beneficent: may it be well with the children, the people, the cattle, the calves, and everyone.'[1]

I see now before me, a woman who had accompanied her husband till *within sight* of the building, standing on an eminence, witnessing from a distance, with hand shading

[1] Strictly speaking, the prayer means, 'May it be well with the *male* children, the *men*, the *cows*, the *female* calves'—in fact, all that is useful—'and everyone;' in which latter category are probably included the women and girls.

CHAP. VII.

intent and loving eye, and with wide-open mouth, the naming of her son. YE-A-AH! YEN POPEN! she said, tenderly.

The father also names the girls. But they are not taken to a temple for the purpose. 'It grows up with the name by which its father calls it in the village' say the Todas.

'No children may enter the outer wall—tûar—of sacred places, until they have cut their teeth.' Such is the unchanging law of these Medes and Persians. The reason why, is not known: it is sufficient that 'our forefathers always did so.' Perhaps as a matter of cleanliness: but probably to obviate the necessity for their mothers running after them within the precincts. As *women are not held unclean*, it is likely this rule may result from prudential grounds.

A feast—a little more sugar and a little more nei—is given about the time a child is named; apparently so soon as both mother and infant are strong; and perhaps seasons favouring.

The following are the names of men:

| | |
|---|---|
| Netarâdi. | Kirnâl. |
| Beliâni. | Tinkuttan. |
| Narikutti. | Nidiabên. |
| Azavom. | Kêdâlbên. |
| Pernâl. | Kêvi. |

Nearly every man has one or even more nicknames—porra[6] hesru—which have been given to him by his associates, mainly on account of some incident in life; sometimes from gait or physical peculiarities, though more rarely so, for the similarity between Todas is great, and their freedom from eccentricity so remarkable, that salient points in figure and manner do not often present themselves. No Toda, however rich he may be, having landed property, and no trade being followed by anyone, or other occupation than those of a priestly nature, names cannot be obtained from these ordinary sources.

[6] Porra = *outside*.

CHAP. VII.

551

| | |
|---|---|
| Quêldirth. | Jinvani. |
| Tushquilth. | Nastufi. |
| Muneth. | Ânchaguti. |
| Penpuv. | Chizarêm. |
| Dirthavilli. | Pentirêm. |

553 A woman retains her maiden name on marriage; being known, for instance, as Nastufi, the wife of Beliâni.

551 576 601 It is etiquette in speaking of another man's wife to term her either kottê or pannê;[7] the first, if her husband is of the Pyki clan, the second if of the Pekkan, Tôdi, Kenna, or Kuttan clans.

A man calling to his wife, or a wife to her husband, would not say 'come here Nastufi or Beliâni,' but 'kukh itva, come here woman,' or 'âl itva, come here man.'

But the more proper term by which a man speaks of his wife is yen kâtvoti.[8]

According to these rules, people talking of the woman Nastufi, would describe her as Beliani pannê, or kottê. *He* would mention her as kâtvoti. He would *call out* to her as kukh.

*List of Relationships.*

601

| | |
|---|---|
| Man, person, husband | Âl |
| Man—young | Varsh.[9] |

[7] Kottê. Pannê. Such terms are difficult. They are frequently of a depreciatory character.

Kôṭṭa = *a fort* or *large dwelling*. Kôṭṭi = *a person of a fort, a superior inhabitant*. Paṇi = *jewel*. Paṇi = *work*. [POPE.]

[8] Yen Kâtvoti. Yen or en = *my*, constantly prefixed in Drâvidian to words indicative of relationship.

Kaṭṭu = *bind, join*. V is an insertion of tense, used in forming verbal nouns with a future or indefinite temporal signification.

Ati is a feminine termination.

The word means, '*she who is bound to me*.' [POPE.]

[9] This is, I think, Sansk.: purusha. But there is viras, *a hero*.

In old high Tamil we have virral, and the termination al becomes in Toda sh as a general rule. [POPE.]

About Ootacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XI. the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjanda, and that he had gone to please them.

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kōna Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pōjāri*. Any mand may celebrate the Kōna Shastra if the *pōjāri* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring *shola*. The Peiki *Varshā* comes with three holy branches of the *Tēr* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the four divisions; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tēr*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the *nerale*, *mottu*, or *kera* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast.

The institution is *Mīmāl*,† they say, and was ordained by Koten, their ancestor, by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting.

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child.

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two.

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Purshārā*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Pukkan man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a conical temple (*kos*), the *Purshārā* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pālthōdi*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kraals and

* Cf. *Exodus* xii. 9.

† *Mīmāl* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Brahmans is described by *Dubois* (*People of India*, p. 94). In this case the *Purohita* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda



553 drinking springs, are names of gods. Female children are not taken to the *Pálthchi* and christened; there is no ceremony in their case. The mother calls her female 551 child by any name she fancies. She will never give the child her own name.

Early betrothals are common amongst the Todas. The boy is taken to the girl's 584 house and salutes his future father-in-law by lifting the feet of the latter to his forehead. An interchange of buffaloes completes the contract. When the time arrives for claim- 583 ing his wife, the young man goes alone to the mand of his father-in-law, who gives him the girl, and a separate house to live in for a few days. There is another exchange of buffaloes, and the bride is taken home.

When two or more brothers* are the husbands of one wife, this ceremony is performed with the eldest alone.

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601 * Names used to express relationships in Toda.

| English. | Toda. | Literal Meaning. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Father | *En, Eyan.* | |
| 2. Mother | *Aff.* | |
| 3. Son | *Mákk.* | |
| 4. Daughter | *Kukk.* | |
| 5. Father's elder brother | *Perudín* | Great father. |
| 6. „ younger „ | *Kirudín* | Little do. |
| 7. „ elder sister | *Mámi.* | |
| 8. „ younger „ | *Mámi.* | |
| 9. Mother's elder brother | *Máman.* | |
| 10. „ younger „ | *Máman.* | |
| 11. „ elder sister | *Perudaff* | Great mother. |
| 12. „ younger „ | *Kirudaff* | Little do. |
| 13. Father's brother's son | *An* | Brother. |
| 14. „ „ daughter | *Akkan* | Sister. |
| 15. „ sister's son | *Macken.* | |
| 16. „ „ daughter | *Tajmakk* | Female. |
| 17. Mother's sister's son | *An* | Brother. |
| 18. „ „ daughter | *Akkan* | Sister. |
| 19. „ brother's son | *Macken.* | |
| 20. „ „ daughter | *Tajmakk* | Female. |

Nos. 5, 6, 13, and 14 at first sight would appear traceable to polyandry, but Nos. 11, 12, 17, and 18 create a difficulty.

Todas have no name for *husband* and *wife* beyond *Ák* and *Tajmakk*, which simply mean *man* and *woman*.

In *Anthropological Journal for January and July* 1871, page 28, *ya* is said to be *father* in Toda. I do not find it so.

551 Male Names.

1. Kévi, a sacred buffalo bell of a *Tiriari* is so called.
2. Pernál, literally a great man.
3. Nárikát, (lit.) child of jackal.
4. Ponkát, (lit.) child of gold.
5. Tabinkát, (lit.) do.
6. Padrithzh, (lit.) name of a god who resides on a mountain.
7. Kédálvén, (lit.) the man of the funeral.
8. Álvén, (lit.) a man.
9. Belavén, (lit.) like silver.
10. Kirnáli, (lit.) little one.

Female Names.

1. Káthaveli, (lit.) silver coin.
2. Darsthinir, (lit.) a jewel scale.
3. Tabinákh, (lit.) gold one.
4. Berath, no meaning that I can find out.
5. Depbili, (lit.) silver ring.
6. Pondahilkammi, (lit.) gold ankle bells.
7. Kattahira, (lit.) Cutcherry, Sircar office.
8. Piltimurugu, (lit.) white ear ring in the top of the ear.
9. Piltsana, (lit.) white ring.
10. Tákém, (lit.) doctor. This child was so called because an European doctor cured it of an illness soon after its birth.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60



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§9. The frequent suffix -küwṭṇ has defied analysis. Rivers[8] thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in puṭʃofxüwṭṇ (a son of sirjuɪr 20)<puṭʃof, a mountain near the mund toɪroɪr, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in tuɪpuɪsxüwṭṇ (20; referred in §6)<tuɪpuɪsforü, the kogfoȷ̈ dairy at toɪroɪr; kæɪnxüwṭṇ, son of toɪliṇȯȷ and nertnuɪs (24, Tòleidi and Nertiners)<kæɪnaȷ̈, the üuɪsoȷ̈ dairy at the mund korkos. A son of küaroɪm of the puɪrgoɪroȷ̈ (34, Kwodron) is named aɪojxüwṭṇ<aɪojuɪr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ of this sib.

[177] köɪkisjxüwṭṇ (20, Kekarikutan, which represents the Toda form of the Badaga name of another man kekæɪrjxüwṭṇ in table 25)<köɪkisjxuḍd, the name of buffalo-track (kuḍd) leading to the mund toɪroɪr.

§10. Another frequent suffixal element is -fuɪn; e.g. in kuɪorfuɪn (21, Karadrvan)<kuɪorȯuṭ, name of a mountain (tuɪṭ) near toɪroɪr; uɪrkümuɪrfuɪn (24, Idrkudrvan)<uɪrkümuɪrfaɪu, a river (puɪu) near Mt. kuɪor; puṭʃefuɪn (24, Pachievan)<puṭʃof, a mountain near toɪroɪr (cf. puṭʃofxüwṭṇ in §9); kergæɪrfuɪn (25, Kerskedrvan)<kergæɪrfaɪu, a stream near the mund poʃtuɪr; aɪojfuɪn<aɪojuɪr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ belonging to the puɪrgoɪroȷ̈, is another name of poɪtuɪṣ (35, Patirsh; cf. aɪojxüwṭṇ in §9); mupuɪfuɪn (16, Mopuvan)<mupuɪf, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to

[888] the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. pæɪȯoȷ̈ or pæɪȯoȷ̈fuɪn, kæɪnodz or kæɪnodzfuɪn; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familiar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits

[114] of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is muɪn, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word puɪn, which is the only possibility,

[192] means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.[9]

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[83] [553] her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

[8] Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 622.

831 192 [9] In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used. The three meanings given for puɪn belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix -fuɪn derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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§14. The suffix -om is fairly common. The meaning of this suffix is "he who is, or has" (cf. the song passage quoted in appendix to note 7 above); this is clear in the name nɑɾom (a son of tæɪpɑx [20, Teipakh]) "he who has beauty, or is beautiful." From such transparent cases the suffix has spread to other less transparent cases, as e.g. kūɑɾom of the puɪgoɪɾoɪʃ (34, Kwodron), who is named after the mund kūɑɪɾθyŋj with shortening of the first vowel (cf. pɑnuɪ in §6). The suffix -ɑɪr is fairly common. I know of one name with this suffix based on the name of a rock at a watering-place (which should end in ɑr "flat rock"), but my informants were unable to remember the name of the rock; the man's name is sinɑɪr (55, Sinar). Other examples connected with sibs do not occur in my material. siɾjɑɪr (20, Siriar) <*siɾiʋŋgɑm*, the Tamil name ordinarily spelt in English Srirangam. The parents of this man made a vow for children at the temple there. piʃjɑɪr (52, Piliar) seems to be derived from the common noun piʃj "silver" by this suffix. However, the name has a peculiar origin in that it was given by this man's recently dead grandfather in a dream experienced by his father. A sib origin could not be given for it, or at least was not sought for; it is, however, based on the familiar type and probably has reference to some sib-object, perhaps the kuɾfoʃj dairy at the mund kuɪɪθuɾ, which has as kūɑsm piʃjɑŋ, which was used unchanged for this man's younger brother (Piliag).

§15. Rivers took -ɑʃl (his -olv) to be an ending of personal names as such, as well as an ending of dairy-names. The Todas, however, do not seem to regard it in this manner. In all the examples, with two exceptions, a personal name with this ending is first a dairy-name. So toɪsjɑʃl in §5, and ðɪkjɑʃl in §6; the latter is one kūɑsm of an abandoned mund, but in all the cases where a mund has a name of this type as one kūɑsm, this represents a dairy at the mund. The two exceptions are kūɯɪsjɑʃl (52, Kuriolv) and pɑɯkiɪsjɑʃl (7, Pakursiolv). The former is made from kūɯɪsuɪn, the ground where the sacred buffalo is killed at pɪɪts, the male funeral-place of the sib, but with its ending derived by the informants from puɲɑːsɑʃl, the second kūɑsm of the funeral-place, referring to the funeral-hut, which represents a dairy. pɑɯkiɪsjɑʃl<*pɑɯkiɪsjniʋ*, the watering place of the kuɾpoʃj dairy at the mund kɑɪs, with the ending from toɪsjɑʃl, the name of the kuɾpoʃj dairy. I know of only one dairy-name in poɪt̪ used as a personal name, viz. tyʃjpoɪt̪ (12, Tilipa), which is derived from poɪt̪θyʃjpoɪt̪, the kūɑsm of the t̪ɯsoʃj dairy at the mund nɑɑsminoɪɾ. Usually some change is made, as in tuɪpɯɾxt̪uɪt̪ɲ and tuɪɾɲuɪs in §6 (cf. §9 and §11) and piʃʲjxt̪ɯɪr in §21.

§16. A few of the names which were explained to me have very irregular formations. puɲuɪr (23, Puner)<*puɲɑɾθt̪*, the second kūɑsm of Mt.

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55 193 [553] paɪrθotj near the mund karkoz. edzen (22, Idjen) <ɪɪdzfoʃ, a valley near the mund poʃtaɪr; this man was afterwards called küarxaz, from a rocky ground near the mund tæilgüɯɪr, since there was another man called edzen. natyʃj (25, Natuli) <kinxatyʃj, a rocky ground with a deep pool near the mund poʃtaɪr; kinxatyʃj = "small (kin)-stone (kaz)-deep pool (tyʃj)," and natyʃj = "beauty (naz)-deep pool (tyʃj)." I could not discover that natyʃj was ever regularly applied to this locality. tærθjxæm (see §6) is said to be a combination of tærθj and kæm, a brother of tærθj who is not found in the genealogical tables. The latter name is derived from kæmaʃf, cf. kæmgüɯtn (§9) and kæmodz (§13) and see §7 for the process of formation. The formation of a name by the combination of two others is unusual but it is paralleled in pmlkirθj, for which see §12.

55 552 614 §17. Practically all the names analyzed above are derived by one process or other from names or küazm of things or places closely associated with the sib in each case. Another class of names of men derives from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon or from temples, if a vow was made to these gods or temples for the birth of a child. So sirjaɪr in §14. Others are moɪronuz, a son of töüθuxn (23, Teitukhen), named from the goddess moɪramn, i.e. Mariamma; noɪxoroɪdzn, a son of sirjaɪr (table 20), <noɪxuɪr "Nagore" or noɪxuɪrxurj "the temple at Nagore" with roɪdzn "king." The famous mosque at this place is treated by the Todas exactly as if it were a Hindu temple, an interesting example of the syncretistic tendencies of an illiterate and untutored Indian community. This name seems to have been influenced phonetically by the word noɪxor or noɪxoroɪf "cobra."

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§18. Two names of Hindu divine figures, who do not possess any temples known to the Todas, are known to me. The first is ardʒon "Arjuna" (25, Kagerikutan); the representation of Sanskrit n by Toda n is a sporadic and irregular change. This name is also shortened to ardʒ. The other name is idjoɪn (a son of tæɪpaɪ, table 20). This is from idroɪdzn "king (roɪdzn) Indra (id)." One of the Toda gods appears in öɪngüɯtn (20, Enkutan); öɪn, the god who lives in the world of the dead, is not especially associated with any sib. One of the semi-mythical heroes küaföü, who belonged to the sib of the melgaɪsoɪʃ, had another name mæɪltaɪz, which is now borne by a man of this sib (44, Meilitars).

55 197 §19. I know of one case of a Toda who was given the name of a Hindu of another community, viz. koɪntsaɪz, a son of kæmodz (table 21), who was named after the Maharaja of Mysore's maternal uncle Kāntarāja Arasu, formerly Diwan of the states and known popularly in Mysore as Kāntarasu. (aɪz is the Toda representation of Kannada arasu, which appears in the names of members of the Maharaja's house and is Englished as Urs; it

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797 533 cessful. Miss Ling had expressed the hope that the converts might some day break into Christian song in their own tongue and especially that a Benedicite might be composed. It is obviously too much to hope for that there should be a completely new style of song evolved; all that one could reasonably expect would be either that on the basis of Tamilian music or, less likely, European music songs would be composed with Toda words, or that with practice the conventions of Toda singing could be extended to cover the Christian spirit and subject-matter. With a view to helping on the latter evolution (perhaps ethnologically unethical, but certainly justified if it would contribute to filling an evident gap in the life of the Christian Todas, and also interesting as an experiment to see how far the technique could be made by a clever composer to cover a previously untreated subject), I suggested to [kanfusodj], my interpreter and a man versed in the song-technique, that he should attempt a Benedicite. He without further prompting attempted composition in both the modes suggested above. His fairly literal translation, based on his Tamil Prayer-book and to be sung to the tune used in church, was hardly a success. But since he had sharpened his wits by this effort, there was a much more satisfactory result. At the end of a night when he had been sitting in his potato-field to prevent raids on his crops by wild pig and deer, as dawn broke he burst forth in a song. This he later dictated to me and it proved to be a remarkable blending of the Christian subject-matter and the imagery suggested by the Toda poetical technique. The song, when read in translation to westerners whose judgment in such matters I value highly, has been adjudged a highly poetical lyric. Certainly for poetic value it far surpasses most of the 300 Toda songs that I have recorded. Whether efforts on such a high level can be produced in greater number remains for some future investigator to discover.

551 797 614 533 I have shown elsewhere [1] that the personal names of Toda males are in almost all cases derived from the religion of the dairy-complex and more specifically from the complexes of the patrilineal sib in the case of each man, while the names of Toda females are more miscellaneous but in many cases show an origin in the song-language. In all cases the Toda Christians who were proselytised from the tribe have retained their Toda names, usually as baptismal names, in spite of the definitely religious connotations in the case of male names. In addition they have all received Christian names, either English or Sanskritic-Tamil. When we come to the children born to the Christian community the case is different. There the Christian names are in the foreground of interest and are the only ones given at baptism. In most cases it seems that no

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[1] *Personal Names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 40. 205-223.

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Toda names were given at all. *E.g.* [kanfuːsodj] gave no Toda names to his children, though his interest in tribal affairs is intense and his connexion with the tribe is fairly intimate. I cannot explain his failure to give Toda names, though a contributing factor is probably to be seen in the fact that his wife is not Toda by origin. In the few cases where I have recorded Toda names for the children of Christian Todas, tribal patterns were followed for the females. *E.g.* [tuaːsmonguuɪʀ] (59, Tormungudr) named one of his daughters [sɔ̈tjabuːf] "spiritual power-flower," [9] which has as its first member [sɔtj], occurring in the song-language paired with [tuːL] in references to the power of the gods or the dairy-complexes. There is probably in this name however a transfer to the Christian sphere of thought. This man's other daughter was also given a Toda name, but she is so generally known, even to the tribal Todas, as Mary that my informants were unable to remember the Toda name. Two girls recently born were named [piːLjiːʒfuːf] "silver-flower" and [tyːLjiːʒfuːf] (the first member [tyːLj] is not clear).[10] One name of a male child belongs to the tribal religious sphere; [kuaʀoːn] has a son called [asojxuuɪʀn] from [asojuɪr], the buffaloes of the [tiː]-dairy of this man's original patrilineal sib.[11] Another son of his is called [siñxuuɪʀ] "gold-horn," which has no sib-connexions; the formation resembles that of women's names in its use of [sin] "gold," but the second member [kuuɪʀ] "horn" is an element found not in women's names, but in male names with sib-connexions.[12] Similarly with [pumxuuɪʀ] "fruit-horn," [13] the name of a son of [iːɨxuuɪʀ] (21, Idrshkwòdr).

Tribal social customs have had in general to be abandoned. Funerals and weddings, for example, are conducted in Christian fashion, and the tribal manner of legitimizing children by giving a toy bow and arrow to the pregnant mother can no longer be used. A survival of tribal custom may be seen however in a preference for cross-cousin marriage (which is not prohibited by Church of England canon law or by English civil law). This is the preferential form within the tribe but operates with many exceptions. Consequently, marriage among the Christians can take place between those who are not cross-cousins without departure from tribal patterns. The small number of the Christians makes non-cross-cousin marriage obligatory in most cases. One case, however, is known to me in which cross-cousins were available, and here the failure

[9] *Ib.* §§ 26-8, for the formation.
[10] *Ib.* § 24 for -[iːʒ] and § 27 for a name with this suffix added to its first member and followed by a second member.
[11] *Ib.* § 9.
[12] *Ib.* § 8.
[13] *Ib.* § 28, for the element [pum].

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60



642 With the arrival of the British in the Nilgiris, Mr. Sullivan, the first
622 European official, appointed a headman known by the Badaga name
648 of *monegar*. He was drawn from the Kuur clan of the Teivilkh moiety,
[614] without any consideration for the social organization of the tribe as a whole, and made responsible for the assessment of the sum which the Todas pay to the Government for their grazing rights, etc. The tribe looks upon this office, filled during my stay in the Blue Mountains first by Piliar (52) in 1939 and then by Pilkhliud in 1949, as that of a servant, entrusted with the task of acting as a go-between with the Indian authorities, and has no consideration for it at all.

642 There exists a supreme Toda council known as the *noim*, and
623 smaller *noims* are also in existence within each clan. These decide the
692 inner affairs of the *modols*, while the great *noim* deals with the affairs
[614] of the whole tribe. Its members are recruited from only four Toda clans, the three Tardharsh ones of Karsh, Norsh and Tarar, and the chief Teivilkh one of Kuur. And even then, they must come from sub-lineages within each of these clans. Its duties consist in the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families and clans, and it also has wide functions in connection with Toda ceremonial.
[684] Its most important business appears to be the settling of disputes
[648] arising out of the custom of stealing wives from other men, and of deciding the amount of compensation due to the injured party. When affairs involving relations with the Badagas are in question, it is this assembly which a fifth member joins, a Badaga from the village of Tuneri, as has already been mentioned earlier (see p. 246).

### 2. CUSTOMS AND INDIVIDUAL WAYS WITH A BEARING ON A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

553 Children among the Todas receive their names very early. But whereas
858 this is done very simply in the case of girls – the grandmother, either paternal or maternal, of the oldest woman of the *mad* giving the little girl her name – it is done with great ceremony in the case of boys.

553 In the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, which takes place when the child is
852 three months old, at the time of uncovering its face (see Rivers, *The*
302 *Todas*, p. 331), the boy is taken by his father to where the buffaloes stand at the *mad*, and the hair of his head shaved off, but only across the middle from ear to ear leaving it long behind and in a fringe over the forehead. The father does the shaving, but it is the maternal uncle,
[604] the *mun*, who gives the name. He also promises to give a calf to the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60



child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet.

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvainolker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vasthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mun* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf.

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamtpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock of hair by the *mun*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner.

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, they cannot officiate as *tarvalikartmokh* before it has taken place. The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time.

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. The *mun* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their